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Biarritz interview] are not surpassed even in his own career," though he is given credit for a clearer head and sounder mind than his French rival. And finally, not to prolong this matter, it is interesting to note the expression here of an opinion concerning Russia which, greatly helped by recent events in the East, is gradually making its way in the world, especially in England. It is that the reputation of Russian diplomacy for unscrupulous craft and abnormal subtlety derives little support from historic fact. This is, at least, healthier than its Russophobic rival.

It will be time to sum up this considerable achievement when the end is reached. But we may note that Mr. Paul's vigor seems unimpaired thus far, that his courage seems tempered somewhat more by discretion, and his politics diluted with somewhat more of those matters which find little place in Parliamentary debate or *Times* editorial. And if, in the long list of liberal achievements which fill the great reform period, the narrative tends to take on the character of a Parliamentary Digest, it becomes, thanks to Mr. Paul's clear head and vigorous English, little less interesting and rather more useful for that.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Cavour. By DOMENICO ZANICHELLI. "Pantheon Series." (Florence: G. Barbèra. 1905. Pp. 427.)

ALTHOUGH Cavour still lacks a monumental biography, he has had several noteworthy books written about him. Beginning with Bonghi's brief sketch and Artom's introduction, one gets an impression of the importance of the man and of the magnitude of his achievement. Treitschke devoted a solid study, somewhat raspingly Prussian, to him. De Mazade analyzed, with insight and Gallic lucidity, his political career. Countess Martinengo Cesaresco made a model epitome, and William de La Rive in his *Souvenirs* produced one of the finest intimate biographies of modern times. Massari, whose work still remains the standard in Italian, is uncritical and diffuse, but he cannot be ignored, because he furnishes sidelights possible only to a contemporary. Finally, Chiala, in his exhaustive introductions and notes to the six volumes of "Letters", has amassed material of the greatest value. This list does not include Castelli's recollections, nor the various volumes of letters edited by Count Nigra, Baron Mayor and others; nor Berti's invaluable contributions to our knowledge of Cavour before 1848.

With this voluminous material as a basis, Professor Domenico Zanichelli, of the University of Pisa, has erected a solid analytical study of Cavour's work as a state-builder and diplomatist. He first furnishes in detail the principles which inspired Cavour's activity; then he shows how these principles were applied to the regeneration of Piedmont after 1849, how far the force of circumstances bent them, and how subtly in most cases they overcame opposition. Professor Zanichelli analyzes with remarkable clearness the intricate steps by which Cavour attained great results; and this needed to be done anew, for

the world has come to regard the unification of Italy as a matter of course, forgetting the years when its fate hung in the balance and success seemed improbable. In these pages,—so skilfully is the past called on to give testimony—we follow the plot from day to day with almost the suspense of a contemporary.

In very few places will one familiar with the subject differ from Professor Zanichelli's conclusions. He has drawn the general outline with a sure hand. He shows rare insight in divining Cavour's purposes, rare skill in showing Cavour's resourcefulness. Occasionally we should need to go beyond the political record in order to understand the hidden springs of policy—as, for instance, in the case of the rupture between Cavour and Rattazzi—but in the main we find the chain of causation complete.

Professor Zanichelli is perfectly candid. He describes without suppression or distortion the method by which Cavour brought about the *Connubio*, his fast-and-loose play with European diplomacy before the war of 1859 and during Garibaldi's expedition, and his guile toward Francis II. before the collapse of the Bourbon Kingdom. He shows that while it is easy to condemn these or other phases of Cavour's statesmanship as disingenuous, if not immoral, they are to be judged at last by their motive. He holds that the statesman, like the general, cannot be bound by the usual code which rules private life. His duty is to save the state at all costs, even at the cost of deceit. A general might have every reason to believe that the enemy must conquer, but he would not be justified in telling his troops that they must expect to be beaten. Washington did not shrink from deceiving the British as to the strength of his army. Lincoln for a long time made each of the Northern elements which supported the war believe that he was waging the war especially for that element. This doctrine leads, of course, to rank Jesuitry, to the assumption that the end justifies the means. But before other statesmen can excuse their doubtful practices by saying that Cavour or Lincoln was just as bad, they must prove that their country's existence could be assured in no other way. They must recognize, further, that in statecraft as in warfare the standard of what is permissible is slowly rising.

I lay stress on this part of Professor Zanichelli's book because his frankness is most commendable. It relieves him of the suspicion of being a mere eulogist—that suspicion which any biographer of Cavour runs the risk of incurring. Professor Zanichelli has produced the best analytical biography which has seen the light in Italy since Villari's much more pretentious works on Savonarola and Machiavelli. He is "scientific", inductive, thorough, sober. He has not attempted to write the "Life and Times of Cavour", and so he has passed by many episodes and personalities; but he has done well what he undertook. Historical students will regret that the series in which his *Cavour* appears does not permit the use of footnotes or even of reference to the sources

of his many quotations. In this respect he and De Mazade are equally tantalizing.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Bismarck und seine Welt: Grundlegung einer psychologischen Biographie. Von OSKAR KLEIN-HATTINGEN. Band II. Erster Theil: 1871-1888; Zweiter Theil: 1888-1898. (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler. 1903, 1904. Pp. 651, 206.)

KLEIN-HATTINGEN's first volume, dealing with Bismarck's career down to 1871, was noticed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IX. 390, and in that notice the purpose and plan of the work were fully indicated. The present volume deals with the seventeen years during which Bismarck controlled the political development of the empire he had founded, and with the ten years following his forced retirement, in which he worried his successors with open and inspired criticisms, surprised the world with occasional revelations and composed his *Reflections and Reminiscences*. To the historian these years are far less important than the great decade in which German unity was established; to the biographer who, like Klein, is chiefly interested in Bismarck's personality, they afford even more material.

In writing the political history of Germany from 1871 on, Klein's political bias causes him to lose all sense of proportion and even the appearance of objectivity which he maintained in his first volume. The foreign politics of two decades are dismissed in a few pages, and the reconstruction of Prussian local government is barely noticed. The greater part of his second volume is devoted to the conflict of political factions in the German and Prussian diets. The leaders of the Liberal left wing—*Fortschritt* or *Freisinn*—are his heroes: the numerous pages devoted to them are pure panegyric. The leaders of the Liberal right wing, the National Liberals, are pictured as either well-meaning simpletons or hypocrites. Like most Germans, the author is intolerant of political compromise and places *Prinzipientreue* above all the practical political virtues. The Clericals and the Social Democrats are represented as talented and high-minded men, because they are against Bismarck, who rapidly develops into the villain of the parliamentary drama. Like most stage-villains, he is really very shallow, and appears to play the part for its own sake. His conflict with the Roman hierarchy, his persecution of the Social Democrats, his adoption of a protectionist tariff-policy, were all dictated, according to Klein, by antipathy to political and economic liberalism, and were primarily manoeuvres for discrediting and destroying the Liberal party. A reader unacquainted with the independence of the administration in Prussia and in Germany and the subordinate part played by the diets would imagine that these bodies were really parliaments and that the German chancellor and Prussian premier required the support of a majority.

The analysis of Bismarck's personality becomes equally partisan and one-sided. It might have been compiled twenty years ago from the